DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 770.00/173 FOR #17

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED April 29,1930
NAME

TO

1—1127

DECIMAL FILE
774.00/44

REGARDING: conversations with Waterlow, British Minister to Bulgaria, who believes that with American cooperation a diplomatic adjustment of Bulgarian and Balkan troubles can be accomplished. Reference to principal Bulgarian troubles, including disputes with Yugoslavia.

Wh

Sofia, Bulgaria.

No. 17. April 29, 1930.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

In view of the remarks transmitted in Despatch No. 1606 of February 19, 1930, of the British Minister to Bulgaria, Mr. Sydney Waterlow, to the effect that he would like to enter into close cooperation with the new American Minister, I have the honor to report upon two conversations with him, the first after His Majesty's dinner to the diplomatic corps on March 29th, and the second after a dinner at the British Legation on April 4th.

On the first occasion Mr. Waterlow asked me to come with him to an inner room of the palace and said that he wished to talk with me. He said:

"I am.....

"I am so glad you've come, Shoemaker, as with you here I hope we shall achieve what we have been aiming to do, bring about a diplomatic adjustment of Bulgaria's troubles and in that way solve the problem of Balkan peace." He then stated that he had been able to enlist the complete cooperation of the French and Italian governments and that they are in the fullest accord with his aims, but that the trouble is that the mass of the Bulgarian people feel that France and Italy are interested in Bulgaria from selfish motives; they know that the Americans are not. If you as America's representative will agree with that policy and follow it with the same enthusiasm as we do, speaking up for it whenever you meet any influential Bulgarian or group, the Bulgarians will see that the aim is only one for a permanent Balkan peace, for you would not be for it for any other reason.

He continued; "Of course you know what the chief troubles are," and went on to mention the boundary disputes with Yugoslavia, the lost provinces with Rumania, the outlet to the Aegean with Greece, aggravated by the financial crisis of the country which makes the Bulgarian people restless, quick to take offense and be on the lookout for trouble. But, if the United States Minister would be close to him throughout his efforts and give him the same support as have his French and Italian colleagues, he knew the effect of my cooperation would be a great moral help. He mentioned that my

address....

address to His Majesty the day before had pleased the King and people, that they already regarded me as a friend of Bulgaria, and to join with France, Italy and his country in this effort for peaceful readjustment at this time would inspire confidence.

Mr. Waterlow stated that the meaning of all he had said was merely that his aim is to have all questions of dispute between Balkan countries referred to France, Italy, Great Britain and the United States for friendly settlement, but this can only be achieved by the Balkan countries having the fullest confidence in the disinterestedness of the motives of the more powerful nations.

At the British Legation on April 4th, Mr. Waterlow added that he hoped I was favorably impressed by what he had told me at the Palace, that I would be in sympathy and be ready to be called upon at any time to use my friendly influences to uphold the sincerity of the intentions of himself and his French and Italian colleagues, adding that they had determined on this method to work for an amicable solution of these problems; that the ministers of the above-mentioned countries were endeavoring to proceed along the same lines in Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece, though progress was slow due to deep-seated senses of unfriendliness, suspicion and reactionary sentiments constantly springing up; that the Western Powers desired to extend a moral leadership

that would....

that would bring about a lasting peace in the Balkan countries.

I replied on both occasions that personally I would be glad to see such a peaceful adjustment of these deep-seated animosities, and felt that this had been the feeling of the people of the United States for a very long period. In view of the fact that Mr. Waterlow said he hoped I would be "ready" to use my friendly influence at some time in the future if called upon, it seems possible that he may have in mind inviting me to participate in the friendly advice given to the Bulgarian Government from time to time by Great Britain, France and Italy, in case another period of tension and emergency should arise. I therefore wish to ask for an expression of the Department's views as to the proper course to be followed in such an event. Since then Mr. Waterlow has been quite ill and I understand that he is now recuperating at the ancient monastery of Rila in the heart of the Rhodope mountains.

1/ I enclose, herewith, an editorial from the London "Times" of April 14, 1930 on the subject of Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations and a commentary upon that article

2/ from "Slovo", an independent Sofia daily of the 24th instant.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

HWS/k

Henry W. Shoemaker,
American Minister.

Enclosures: (2)
As described above.

Copy to E.I.C. Paris.

London Times.
April 14, 1930.

SERBS AND BULGARS.

With commendable courage the Bulgarian Government has grasped the Macedonian nettle and has arrested a number of members, great and small, of the notorious Internal Organization, who were accused by the Yugoslav Government of complicity in recent bomb outrages in Yugoslav territory. It is still uncertain whether the Organization will submit to the attack. For nearly a generation before the War its chiefs had the last word in nearly every dispute with the Government of Bulgaria, and that last word sometimes accompanied a knife thrust or a pistol shot. The fact that a great number of Slavs who were claimed as Bulgars, or believed that they were Bulgars, remained under inefficient or violent foreign rule made the Bulgarian people ready to excuse the crimes and the intrigues of men who were regarded at worst as misguided patriots. This Macedonian influence contributed even more than the humiliating Treaty of Bucharest to drive the Bulgarian Government into the War on the side of the German and the Turk. The consequent disaster opened the eyes of the Bulgarian people to the danger of Macedonian influence upon Bulgarian policy; more recently the murderous feuds among the revolutionaries and the increasing professionalism of their chief deprived the Organization of much of its romantic prestige. But even so the present Bulgarian Government must deal cautiously with what is still a formidable group. In their mountain strongholds in South-Western Bulgaria the Macedonian leaders have the support of a hardy population of embittered refugees from Yugoslavia. The costly professional army which the fears of their neighbours and the folloy of the Great Powers imposed upon Bulgarian public opinion, while condemning the misdeeds of the Internal Organization, is still moved to find excuses for them in the Yugoslav refusal of Minority rights to the Bulgars of Macedonia. M. Liaptcheff's Government, which has many internal difficulties - and enemies, to face, deserves the more credit for its latest effort to maintain good relations with Yugoslavia.

It is too early, however, to hazard an opinion as to the success of its efforts. Much depends on the extent of the demands of Belgrade, and whether the arrest of the Macedonians is regarded there as a preventive or as a punitive measure. The preventive arrest of the revolutionaries would presumably entail their relegation to the most distant parts of Bulgaria, where they would be kept under police observation - more successfully it may be hoped, than are the Bulgarian Agraro-Communists in Yugoslavia. But if the Yugoslav Government insists upon the trial and punishment of these persons, on evidence mainly supplied by its agents, it risks a disappointment. In more than one recent political trial the methods employed by the Serbian police and gendarmes to obtain evidence for the Crown have not commended themselves to the Yugoslav Judges, and the evidence for these Macedonians may not be susceptible of judicial proof before a Bulgarian Court. The introduction of a milder régime in Yugoslavia (Macedonia), would be a better safeguard against the sporadic attacks

of.....

of embittered exiles and of the gangsters whom they employ. The Dictatorship has lately made a laudable effort to punish corruption among its minor officials, who, to judge from recent convictions, regarded Macedonia as a happy hunting ground. Economically that country has made marked progress during the last few years, but it is idle to pretend on the strength of meetings convened and addresses edited by the authorities that the Slav population of the country south of Uskub and Kalkandelen is yet entirely reconciled to Serb rule. No one can fairly blame the Yugoslav Government for making Serb the compulsory medium of instruction in the State schools, or, given the nationalist character of the Balkan churches, for insisting on the appointment to the principal positions in the hierarchy of clerics on whose loyalty it can depend. But the ban upon Bulgarian books and periodicals, the prohibition of the use of Bulgar or of the local dialect in religious instruction, and the compulsory change of surnames by which every Popoff becomes willy-nilly a Popovitch - these are constant factors of ill-feeling on both sides of the eastern border of Southern Serbia. If the Serbs could have ridden on the snaffle they might have won the moral as well as the military hegemony of the Balkans five years ago. They would certainly have had little cause to-day to fear the Macedonian revolutionaries, still less their much embarrassed Bulgarian hosts.

---

hpk/

"Slovo"
Independent.
April 24, 1930.

No 2 ACCOMPANYING
OF 19 30
SOFIA

THE LONDON TIMES ON THE SITUATION.

This "leader" of the London "Times" shows that its author is well versed in Balkan matters and the internal situation of Bulgaria. While Bulgaria is praised for its drastic measures which her Government has taken against the Macedonian revolutionaries living within her territory, the author of the article advises the Bulgarian authorities to be cautious in this very dangerous undertaking, as the Macedonian chiefs are backed in the Western regions of the country by a sturdy population largely made up of refugees from Yugoslavia. It would be a grave mistake, the "Times" argues, should the Yugoslav Government insist on its demand that certain Macedonian leaders be punished on the basis of the evidence collected by its agents only. In such a case Yugoslavia risks facing a great disappointment. A more humane regime in Macedonia will be Yugoslavia's most efficacious defence against future Macedonian outrages. Such measures as proscription of the Bulgarian language and books in church service, forced changes of name endings from "off" to "itch" -- these have been some of the causes which have created intense bad feelings on both sides of the frontier between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

That is the way the most British authoritative newspapers analyzes the relations between the two countries. Bulgarian public opinion cannot but greatly appreciate the fact that in London people have a clear conception of the delicate position in which the Bulgarian Government finds itself when it is compelled to use stringent measures in order to stifle and suppress the justified indignation and protest of the Bulgarian people evoked by the persecution of their brethern not only in Yugoslavia, but in other countries as well. The condition of minorities is not an enviable one anywhere, but the regime under which labor the Bulgarian population in Yugoslavia is impossible elsewhere. This fact has plainly been emphasized by the London "Times" when it states that the Bulgarian element outside of Bulgaria lives under "a brutal and incapable regime".

C:/hpk

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

774.00/45

SEE 874.00/356 FOR #19

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED May 1, 1930.

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING:

conversation with Foreign Minister Bouroff, who expressed his views concerning Bulgaria's relations with adjoining countries and attitude toward other European countries.

Wh

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 770.00/173 FOR Instruction #11

~~FROM~~ (Shoemaker) DATED June 13,1930

TO Bulgaria NAME 1—1127 GPO

~~REGARDING~~ instructing to refrain from association in making representations or giving advice to Bulgarian Government regarding domestic affairs or relations with European states.

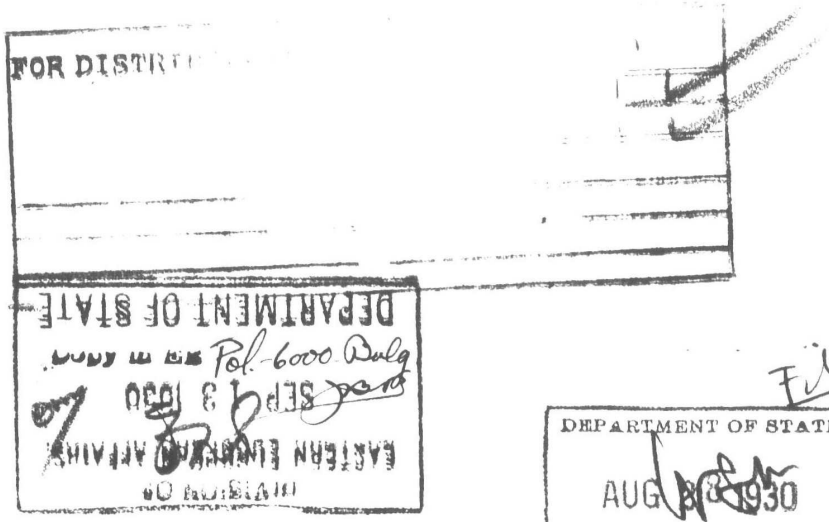
INDEX BUREAU 774.00/46

Wh

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Sofia, Bulgaria.

No. 85. August 7, 1930.

Subject: Remarks of Bulgarian Prime Minister to visiting foreign journalists.



The Honorable

The Secretary of State

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that on August 5, at Varna, the Bulgarian Prime Minister addressed a delegation of Turkish, Polish and Austrian journalists, who as guests of the Sofia Press Association have been visiting Bulgaria during the past week, ih the following terms:

"Bulgaria has decided to follow a policy of peace and heighborly good will. The states with such an aim should coordinate their efforts in the economic field and aid each other. The danger which menaces the peace of the world is due in a large measure to the small states. These states are unable to bring themselves in time to make necessary concessions.....

concessions which the large states accord readily. Furthermore the small states are prone to move in the orbit of the Powers. Nationalism, which inflames the smaller states of Europe, is an idea indispensable to the conservation of peoples, but it has its limits. Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey can exist and prosper on condition that they regulate questions pending with their neighbors in a manner which will not affront the "unknown". Economic questions in these countries where industry is weak are much more difficult of solution as these countries have many problems to struggle against. But they should at all costs understand each other in order not to be oppressed by the Great Powers. It is necessary for them to reach an understanding but at the same time they must give due consideration to the interests of the Great Powers. It is my firm conviction that the Little Entente is not dangerous from the standpoint of the small states. Of this I was persuaded by my visit to Czechoslovakia. I also believe that Prague and Budapest will understand each other one of these days. With reference to things parliamentary, I find parliaments necessary and indispensible to the control of the activity of government. But when parliaments attempt to do more they become a danger. All principles have a limit in their application. Take for example Turkey - the Turkish literary language is the resultant of three languages, Persian, Arabic and Turkish. Turkish here is the most feeble component. The new Turkey has sought to destroy its Mohammedan props and to enhance the national

spirit.....

spirit. By these reforms, among others by revising the alphabet, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha has become a reformer more audacious than Peter the Great."

If one is to understand from the Prime Minister's remarks about Turkey that here is an example of a Parliament exceeding its natural functions, then one must conclude that Bulgaria's cabinet leader is at times lacking in tact, especially in view of the gracious gesture of friendship for Bulgaria recently made by the President of the Turkish Republic.

The foregoing account of the Prime Minister's statement was taken from the first record thereof appearing in "La Bulgarie". It is interesting to note in this connection that in a subsequent analysis of the speech "La Bulgarie" failed to mention t he Prime Minister's reference to Turkey.

Very respectfully yours,

Henry W. Shoemaker,

Henry W. Shoemaker,
American Minister.

File No. 710.

Copy to E.I.C. Paris.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Sofia, Bulgaria.

No. 97.

August 22, 1930.

SEP 10 30

Subject: Departure of Mr. Bouroff for Vichy and Geneva.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 1930
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

FOR DISTRIBUTION

Copy to M I D.

INDEX BUREAU
774.00/48

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 26 1930
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that Foreign Minister Bouroff left Sofia on August 19. The Minister's immediate destination was Vichy where he will take the cure until his presence is required at Geneva as the chief spokesman of Bulgaria at the September session of the League of Nations. It is understood that Mr. Bouroff may also visit Paris for the purpose of discussing questions of foreign affairs of common interest to Bulgaria and France.

At Geneva Mr. Bouroff is expected to enter into discussions with Mr. Venizelos, Mr. Titulesco, and Mr. Marinkovitch. With Mr. Venizelos he will try to reach a.....

a settlement of the Greco-Bulgarian claims dispute relating to the exchange of properties of expatriated Greek and Bulgarian subjects. The question of a new commercial treaty between Bulgaria and Greece will be discussed at Geneva by the two statesmen. With Mr. Titulesco, the Bulgarian Minister for Foreign Affairs will seek a settlement of the important question of the release of Bulgarian property sequestered during the war by Rumania. With Mr. Marinkovitch he will discuss the results of the labors of the Mixed Commission under the Double Properties Convention, and at the same time will seek to find with Mr. Marinkovitch a satisfactory basis for the conclusion of a Bulgaro-Yugoslav commercial treaty. In this connection it may be noted that Mr. Bouroff is expected, while at Geneva, to be on the alert concerning the minorities question which, in Bulgaria, it is hoped will be raised at the September session of the League.

On the afternoon prior to the departure of Mr. Bouroff a cabinet meeting was held at which all angles of Bulgaria's foreign relations were examined. It is understood that the Cabinet gave its hearty approval to Mr. Bouroff's stewardship to date, and also gave him full powers to deal at Geneva with all Bulgaria's unsettled questions in the realm of foreign affairs.

Mr. Bouroff is to be accompanied at Geneva by Mr. Molloff, the Minister of Finance, who will also be a delegate of his country.

Very respectfully yours,

Henry W. Shoemaker,

Henry W. Shoemaker.

File No. 710.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 870.4016/31 FOR #131

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED Oct.18, 1930

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

INDEX EUROPA

774.00/49

REGARDING:

Statement of Bulgaria's Foreign Minister relative to accomplishments of the September session of the League of Nations insofar as relations between Bulgaria and other countries is concerned.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 874.001 B 64/48 FOR #140

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED Nov.3, 1930

TO NAME

1—1127

INDEX BUREAU

774.00/50

REGARDING:

Statement of the Bulgarian Prime Minister that the marriage of King Boris will have no effect on Bulgaria's foreign policy.

Mr. Bouroff is not optimistic in connection with the political situation in Europe. His great regret is that the United States is unwilling to take an active hand in European political affairs. His view of the existing situation is as follows:

France is apprehensive, especially now in view of recent developments in Germany. France cannot rely upon Poland, Roumania or Czechoslovakia in case of a crisis. Of the "re-insurance" countries only Yugoslavia can be counted upon. Therefore Bulgaria must not be over critical of French policy with reference to Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, Belgrade is fully aware of the dependence of France upon Yugoslavia's assistance and the Belgrade Military Circle is disposed to take advantage of this situation. On the other hand, Italy, knowing that Bulgaria must fall back on Rome in case of a European political crisis, is not active in averting any disagreeable situation as between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. England under the Labor Government is vacillating and ineffective.

It will be seen from the foregoing that Mr. Bouroff is well aware of the fact that Bulgarian diplomacy has its work cut out for it in the near future if it is to reassure France in connection with the marriage of King Boris. That Bulgaria intends to do its best with this end in view I believe to be a fact, as ever the Bulgarian

Prime

Prime Minister, who is a Macedonian and who is believed to view the European political situation through Macedonian glasses, has no more desire to be chained to Italy's chariot than has Bulgaria's Francophile Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bobroff.

Respectfully yours,

(SGD) HENRY W. SHOEMAKER

Henry W. Shoemaker,
American Minister.

800.1

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

N-S

774.00/51

IND. X BUREAU

SEE 874.032/42 FOR #146

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED Nov.17, 1930

NAME

TO

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Statement of Prime Minister Liaptcheff regarding Bulgaria's foreign policy.

las

On the subject of foreign policy Mr. Liaptcheff declared that since 1918 Bulgaria has followed a policy of peace, the proof of which is everywhere apparent.

Bulgarian

Bulgarian foreign policy has been the scrupulous execution of the peace treaties. That is the policy of the present Government. Bulgarian policy is clear. Its ends, its means and its manner of action are concerned only with the execution of the treaties.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, December 29, 1930.

No.163

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Subject: KING BORIS III ON BULGARIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

FOR DISTRIB...
No distribution
JAN 15 31
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JAN 28 1931
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
774.00/52

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that the Bulgarian Minister to Washington, Mr. Simeon Radeff, was received by King Boris III several days ago. The subject discussed by the King during the audience, which lasted for well over an hour, was Bulgaria's foreign policy in the light of his marriage to an Italian Princess.

According to Mr. Radeff, in whom the Legation places the fullest confidence in this connection, the King spoke in

in substance as follows: Bulgaria's foreign policy remains identically what it was before the marriage. There are political elements outside Bulgaria that seek to divert our attention from the aim for which we should continue to strive, namely, the establishment of European confidence in Bulgaria. We cannot afford to be dominated by any one Power. Our cue is equal deference to all of the Great Powers. Bulgaria's immediate task is to reassure France. Our relations with no state are such as to constitute an obstacle to the realization of this task. Bulgaria received no assistance from political factors (Mussolini) in connection with the marriage. Therefore no obligations were incurred, in consequence of which Bulgaria is today quite as free an agent in the realm of foreign affairs as the country was before the marriage.

Mr. Radeff left Sofia yesterday for Washington by way of Geneva and Paris. In the latter city he will remain for some weeks, and it is presumed that before his departure therefrom he will find an opportunity to bring his Sovereign's remarks on Bulgarian foreign policy to the attention of Mr. Briand. In fact, it is known to the Legation that Mr. Liaptcheff, the Bulgarian Prime Minister, has suggested that Mr. Radeff endeavor to have an intimate conversation on Bulgarian affairs with the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I may add in this connection that Mr. Renato Piacentini, who for the past four years has represented Italy in Sofia, is leaving Bulgaria within the next few weeks. Rumor has spread numerous explanations of the impending departure of the ambitiously active Italian

Minister

Minister, including one to the effect that Signor Mussolini has not approved of the private life of Mr. Piacentini. Probably closer to the truth is the explanation which has been given to the Legation by one close to the Bulgarian Government which is to the effect that an overly active Italian representative is a potential source of danger to the Sofia Government, particularly if he looks upon the Macedonian Organizations as a fertile field for Italian endeavor. It is also understood that General Volkoff, the Bulgarian Minister to Rome, will soon be replaced. As the Department will recall, General Volkoff maintains close relations with the Macedonian Organizations. The successor to Mr. Piacentini is to be the present Italian Minister to Ethopia.

Respectfully yours,

Henry W. Shoemaker,

Henry W. Shoemaker,
American Minister.

800

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Paris
Rome

2 copies in I B for notes

G. W.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

13

Please file in
Confidential file

EWA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 6 1931
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Confidential File

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
MAR 6 1931
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

March 3, 1931.

Memorandum of conversation with the Bulgarian Minister, March 3, 1931.

N. E.

774.00
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The Bulgarian Minister, whom I have not seen for over a year, came in to report his return. We discussed conditions generally and he brought up no official matter except to say that the King had charged him to tell this Department that Bulgaria was being meticulously careful not to form any kind of alliance with any individual nation or to make any kind of agreements with any nation. He said that the European talk had been, particularly since the King's marriage, that Italy and Bulgaria kept in exceedingly close touch with each other. He said that this definitely was not so, that Bulgaria was trying to be friendly all around, that it did not believe in the revision of the Peace Treaties, but rather in the full fulfillment of all the terms of the Peace Treaties, that it was more important to keep on good terms with France than it was to keep on good terms with Italy because, in case

774.00/53
FILED
MAR 7 1931

case of war between Italy and Yugoslavia, it would be the simplest thing in the world for Yugoslavia to take Sofia and that this could only cause a revolution in Bulgaria. I told him that I thought we had never had any suspicions of Bulgarian motives. The Minister said he knew this and that it made his work here much easier than the work of some of his colleagues in Europe, but that he, nevertheless, felt compelled to pass on what the King had told him to say.

774.00/53

A-E WRC/AB

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 767.68/691 FOR #1887

FROM Greece (Fisher) DATED Oct.14, 1931

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

774.00/54

REGARDING:

Bulgarian suspicion that secret agreements were concluded during the visit of the Turkish Prime Minister and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to Athens and belief that the visit constitutes a threat to Bulgaria.

Wi

Athens, Greece, October 14,1931.

No. 1037.

Subject: Bulgarian Suspicion of Turkish Visit.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

With reference to my despatch no. 1032 of October 8th regarding the recent visit of the Turkish Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs to Athens, I have the honor to report that on the tenth instant PROIA reprinted an editorial from "Vreme", one of the larger newspapers of Belgrade, which voices the suspicion that certain secret agreements have been concluded. As evidence it states that the Turkish Ministers will meet Mussolini in Venice and afterwards proceed to Budapest, and that Count Bethlen was in Angora last year during Venizelos' visit there.

PROIA declares that such suspicions are quite unjustified, that relations between Greece and Turkey are friendly and open, that if the Turkish Ministers visit Budapest it will be to return a visit, and that Greece and Turkey are bound to Italy by treaties based on pacific interests in the Eastern Mediterranean. As these facts are well known in Belgrade, and as

. Greece

Greece is a party to a similar treaty of friendship with Yugoslavia, PROIA urges that such unfounded suspicions of Greco-Turkish relations should be Manisheas ridiculous.

According to Greek despatches from Sofia, the newspaper TRAKIA, organ of the Bulgarian-Grecian Committee, asserts that the Turkish visit constitutes a danger to Bulgaria. "Greece", it states, "feeling the strong tendency of Bulgaria to reoccupy the Aegean littoral, seeks the friendship of Turkey in order to assure her position in Western Thrace and Macedonia. The Turks, on the other hand, are endeavoring to hold their position in the Balkans by establishing Turkish tribes in Eastern Thrace". In conclusion TRAKIA advises Bulgarian politicians to revise Bulgarian international policy with a view to counteracting Greco-Turkish friendship.

Respectfully yours,

Karl A. Fisher
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Legation File No. 910.

CC/eg

[illegible]

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

774.00/55

SEE 033.7467/4 FOR desp atch #331

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED Dec. 11, 1931.

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Bulgarian foreign policy.
Visit of M.Mooshanoff, Bulgarian to Ankara, Turkey, is thought to be an important marker in the course of-
The previous government was content to let the neighboring states set the pace for Bulgaria with the result that Bulgaria's policy appeared to be without direction or objective.

mc

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, May 31, 1932.

No.430

Subject: BULGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK Yes No
To the Field ✓
In U. S. A. ✓
Copy To MID

DIVISION OF
EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUL 6 1932
COPY IN R-6000 Bulg.
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 20 1932
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

JUL 8 -

774.00/56

FILED
JUL 12 1932

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that Mr. Mooshanoff, the Bulgarian Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, has recently made two statements on Bulgarian foreign policy, one before the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Sobranje and the other on the floor of Chamber, which, in the opinion of the Legation, faithfully reveal the aims and the methods of the present Government in the field of foreign relations. Summaries of the two statements are transmitted herewith for the Department's information.

Explanatory or evaluating comment on the statements is not thought necessary or desirable, as the Legation, in

previous

previous despatches, has dealt in detail with the various subjects touched on by the Prime Minister. The press, and public opinion in general, has commented favorably on the statements. The only comment of particular interest, however, was that of MAKEDONIA, the organ of the legal Macedonian organizations. In quoting the passage relative to Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations from the Prime Minister's speech before the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Sobranje, this journal expressed itself as follows: "It is with particular satisfaction that we quote the frank words of the Prime Minister. They reveal the fact that Bulgarian foreign policy is based on sound national considerations; the previous timorous and vague attitude with reference to the greatest national problem has been replaced by a frank expression of the desire of the Bulgarian nation. Belgrade must understand these words if it sincerely desires to reach an understanding.. ....".

Respectfully yours,

Henry W. Shoemaker,
Henry W. Shoemaker.

Enclosures: As stated.

710

Copies sent to E.I.C.

ENCLOSURE No. 1 ACCOMPANYING
DESPATCH No. 430 OF May 31 1932
AMERICAN LEGATION, SOFIA.

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT OF PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS BEFORE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION OF SOBRANJE ON MAY 26, 1932.

-o-

The solution of the litigious problems with Greece was imminent. The resignation of Mr. Venizelos will delay matters for a time, but as soon as the crisis is over in Greece, the negotiations will be resumed. We want a direct agreement. The desire is to settle on the basis of a liberal payment. I am convinced that with the good will shown on both sides, we shall reach a satisfactory settlement. Relations with Rumania are more than friendly. I gather from my conversations with a special envoy of the Rumanian Prime Minister that Rumania wants to stregthen the bonds of friendship with Bulgaria. The Rumanian Government demonstrated its friendliness at the time when we did not transfer the payment due to Rumania. The important question which will have to be considered in this friendly atmosphere is that of the low price fixed for Bulgarian property in the Debroudja. I feel certain that this question will be satisfactorily settled as a concrete result of our friendly relations with Rumania. I hope that later Rumania will purchase Bulgarian tobacco, because although Rumania exports petroleum products, salt, wood, et cetera to Bulgaria, she has not bought anything from us so far.

Commercial negotiations with Germany will begin immediately. They will be of particular importance, as we have the greatest difficulties in exporting our tobacco and eggs.

There is no change in our relations with Yugoslavia. I met Mr. Marinkovitch in Geneva. He stated that the I.M.R.O. is a hinderance to good relations between the two countries. My reply was that as soon as the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia is accorded its treaty rights, the I.M.R.O. will lose its influence. I am convinced that the Serbs will finally understand that a fair treatment of the Bulgarian minority would meet the interests of both countries.

Regarding foreign payments, the bondholders have protested against the recommendations of the Finance Committee. We shall hold on to these recommendations and we shall execute them. I must repeat once more, that we want to pay but cannot do so. I understand that new inquiries will be made to verify our assertions. Let new investigators come and they will see that we cannot pay. It seems all these questions will be settled at Lausanne.

No official or semi-official action relating to direct trade relations with Russia has been taken so far. Whoever wants to go to Russia may go.

The visits of Baron Acerbo and of the JEANNE D'ARC should not and cannot be connected with any secret political purposes.

ENCLOSURE No. 2 ACCOMPANYING
DESPATCH No. 430 of May 31, 1932
AMERICAN LEGATION, SOFIA.

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT OF PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON THE FLOOR OF THE SOBRANJE ON MAY 27, 1932.

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Territorial status.

Mr. Sakazoff has raised the question of lost territories. It seems useless to me to raise this question today and to hold the Government of the present responsible for being unable to change the frontiers. Perhaps in the future there will be new methods of settling frontier questions between nations. We live at a time when all hope is not lost. We have the League of Nations; public opinion and world conscience exist. We all hope that international differences will be settled by new methods in the future.

Minorities Question.

We are called upon to tolerate a situation created by the peace treaties. However, the treaties assure certain rights to the minorities and a country whose nationals are under foreign rule has a juridical basis in the treaties themselves for insisting upon the enforcement of the clauses relating to minorities rights. When this problem is raised in the Chamber or by the responsible Government, our neighbors should not consider it as the expression of an unfriendly disposition. I am particularly happy to see that from the extreme Left to the extreme Right all representatives of the Bulgarian nation have expressed the same point of view on the question of minorities rights. Can the Minister for Foreign Affairs or the Government be accused of having failed to solve this problem? In spite of our unanimity on this problem the Government is not in a position to impose the people's desires. All we can do at present is to raise the problem in its juridical aspect. The problem of minorities rights was put on the agenda of the League of Nations two years ago. The world wide economic depression brought more urgent problems to the foreground, problems in which big and small countries are equally concerned. The economic redressment of the world being at stake, nobody could seriously think of raising at the League of Nations the minorities problem.

Understanding with Neighboring Countries.

The representatives of all parties have spoken of our relations with the neighboring countries. Whenever we have here raised the question of establishing friendly relations with our neighbors we have been charged with failure. There has been no failure. There is nobody here who favors a policy of adventure. The desire of the entire Bulgarian nation is to be on friendly terms with all our neighbors. We all want an understanding between all the Balkan nations, particularly now that all of them have been seriously affected by the economic crisis. We have given

sufficient

sufficient evidence that we are not raising obstacles to such an understanding. Representatives of Bulgarian public opinion have made their contribution to the Balkan Conferences. Can we be accused of practicing a policy which prevents an understanding? There is of course the question of minorities, but the fault is not our. Those who are the stronger to-day, must manifest a spirit of conciliation, instead of simply denying the existence of Bulgarian minorities in Macedonia and the Western districts. Our relations with our neighbors can be improved if they adopt a forthright and humane policy. The only thing we seek is the recognition of the ethnical and the cultural rights of our brothers. Our desire is neither to interfere in the internal affairs of our neighbors nor to foment crimes and disturbances on their territories. We are endeavoring to find the most appropriate means for establishing normal and friendly relations and for the promotion of commercial exchange between ourselves and the other nations of the Peninsula.

Litigious Questions with Greece.

We want to open an era of friendly relations with Greece. With this country too there is the question of minorities; there are also other questions of a financial and not of a political nature and it is a settlement of these questions that we most desire. One of the causes of our differences with Greece is due to the state of affairs which has been created in connection with the question of reparations. Our reparation payments were divided into two parts, Greece receiving 76% and the other creditors 24%. Whenever the question of alleviation regarding reparation payments has been raised, Greece asked for compensations. Greece holds the opinion that her obligations under the Molloff-Kafandaris agreement must be compensated by our reparation payments. The Hague Court stipulated that the litigation is not of its competency, as it does not come under Article 8 of the agreement. I am convinced that we would have come to a solution if the change of Cabinet in Greece had not happened in the meantime. I hope that Mr. Papanastassiou, who is the initiator of the Balkan Conferences and one of the promoters of the idea of Bulgaro-Greek friendship, will continue to develop what Mr. Venizelos initiated. I hope that the new Greek Government will carry on the negotiations and that a settlement will be reached.

Rapprochement with Rumania.

Public opinion in Bulgaria was deeply moved by the murder of one of our prominent compatriots in Rumania, a highly esteemed person in Rumanian political circles. The attitude of the colonists in the Dobroudja too has not created an atmosphere favorable to a rapprochement between the two countries. However, we all recognize that Rumania has never denied the existence of a Bulgarian minority on her territory. It is true that this minority does not benefit by all the rights it should and that various complaints about landed property are being raised by its representatives. I want to point out with particular satisfaction

that

that when we asked for the postponement of the payment of 55 million lei due to Rumania on March 25, the Rumanian Government did not object. All our newspapers pointed to this fact as an indication of a friendly attitude on the part of the Rumanian Government. The Bulgaro-Rumanian rapprochement for which promient politicians in both countries are working, the courtesy shown by the Rumanian Prime Minister and the feelings expressed by his special envoy, indicate that there is a definite improvement in the relations between the two countries which should lead us to a still closer rapprochement, and to a settlement of the big problems still unsolved.

Friendship with Turkey.

We have no litigious questions with Turkey and we have signed with that country almost all the treaties recommended by the League of Nations. If there are still certain small questions about landed property, they will be settled in the near future. A special commission is investigating the possibilities of commercial exchange between the two states. A special conference on tobacco was held the other day. A Balkan Chamber of Commerce was founded. I must emphasize that our relations with the Turkish Government are most friendly and cordial and that whenever the Turkish Government has had an opportunity to demonstrate its friendship it has done so in a very tangible manner.

Danubian Bloc.

We have been reproached on the score that Bulgaria has somehow been neglected, Mr. Tardieu having failed to extend an invitation to us. It was suggested that the attitude of Mr. Tardieu in this matter was due to the policy of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. I am not going to discuss whether there is any political side to Mr. Tardieu's plan. The important point is that the idea of a Danubian Union was brought forward before it had taken mature form. Even to-day the plan is not definitely elaborated and its own author does not know how it will develop in the future. As for the attitude of the French Government, it did not raise any official objections when we expressed the desire to take part in the Danubian agreement. We will see what will come out of this project when the representatives of the countries concerned meet on June 5. At present even the Little Entente has not come to an agreement on this question and the problem remains open.

Financial Questions.

We have been patient and waited with the result that Bulgaria is in a favorable position. It has been very difficult to suspend the payment of reparations. From March 15 we do not pay reparations and the amounts thus freed are available for the needs of the Treasury. We obtained a reduction of 50% on our foreign payments, both for pre-war and post-war debts. I know that the bond-holders do not want to accept the decisions of the League

of Nations, on the score that the League is not competent to settle this matter. However, we have the recommendations of the League and I consider that we have the right to follow them. The bondholders refused to discuss any reduction of payments as long as the Finance Committee had not pronounced upon the situation of our country. The Finance Committee has now fully investigated our possibilities and once again we invite the bondholders to negotiate and to come to an agreement. In the absence of such an agreement, we shall stick to the recommendations of the League of Nations. The situation is getting worse; the prices of our export products decrease. Perhaps we are not in a position to pay even the 50% of our liabilities in foreign currency. However, we pay because we want to be honest and correct towards the Finance Committee. A new committee has been constituted which will carry on the investigation of the financial position of the Balkan countries so that a final decision regarding the assistance to be given may be taken on June 15.

Relations with Soviet Russia.

I am not interested in the internal policy of this or that country when the question of establishing commercial relations is raised. The reason why the question of resuming diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia has to be postponed for a long time lies with the Communist Party in Bulgaria. The violent methods used by the Workers Party would lead to continual diplomatic conflicts between Russia and us. Even a commercial representation of the Soviets in Bulgaria would be a secret political organization with definite political aims. Neither myself nor the Government is opposed to trading with Russia on condition that there shall be no diplomatic or commercial representatives.

General.

We are in the best relations with the Big Powers. Even former enemies have become our best friends. We have a high regard for the League of Nations which has been very responsive to our demands. Our desire is to be on terms of peace and understanding with all our neighbors; this remains the main objective of our policy.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, July 22, 1932.

No.477 CONFIDENTIAL

Subject: BULGARIAN SATISFACTION OVER FRENCH RECEPTION OF MR. MOOSHANOFF.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AUG 22 1932
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

PM REC'D
DEPT OF STATE
DIV COM & REC
AUG 10 32

FOR DISTRIBUTION
Yes No
Copy To MID
CONFIDENTIAL

AUG 26 1932

774.00/57

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AUG 11 1932
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
Copy to NE

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that Bulgarian opinion finds an indication of a change in French official attitude toward Bulgaria in the attention shown Mr. Mooshanoff, the Bulgarian Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the occasion of his recent visit to Paris to negotiate with the bearers of the Bulgarian pre-war bonds.

It is pointed out here with considerable satisfaction that a luncheon in honor of Mr. Mooshanoff was given at the Quai d'Orsay by M. Herriot, and that at the military review on July 14, the Bulgarian Prime Minister was a guest in the box of the President of France. Furthermore, Mr. Mooshanoff is reported to have said to Bulgarian newspaper

correspondents

correspondents at Geneva that he found M. Herriot most interested in matters relating to the possible financial assistance of Bulgaria by France. The local press has reported, on what is claimed to be unimpeachable authority, that M. Herriot expressed the desire to Mr. Mooshanoff to visit Bulgaria at the first opportunity. Also, the press has quoted Mr. Mooshanoff as stating that he was charged to carry back to the Bulgarian people a special message of good will from the French Prime Minister.

Perhaps the Bulgarians have put on rose colored glasses for the moment, and in reality no special mark of attention was shown to their Prime Minister in France. It is to be hoped, however, that there really are straws in the wind pointing to the revival of French interest in Bulgaria. Italy is constantly on the alert to make the most of French indifference toward Bulgaria. As yet no serious damage has been done; Bulgaria is still unfettered, but it cannot completely ignore Italian blandishments in the face of the indifference of France and Great Britain. The Bulgarian is human enough to wish to be liked, if not by the French and the British, then by the Italians.

Only recently the Italians have paraded their friendly feelings for Bulgaria by a visit of Italian naval vessels to the port of Varna under the command of Admiral Moreno, formerly a member of the suite of the King of Italy, and therefore well known to the Bulgarian Queen. The Admiral and a party of officers visited Sofia. Needless to say, the Italian Minister to Bulgaria, Mr. Cora, arranged matters so as to make most of the visit of the Italian ships from the standpoint of the aims of his Government in

Bulgaria

Bulgaria. Admiral Moreno was entertained at luncheon by the King and Queen at their country place near Sofia. Later the King and Queen lunched on board the Admiral's flagship at Varna and a reception for the visiting officers was held at the summer palace of Euxinograd. There followed a veritable shower of Bulgarian decorations for the visiting Italians.

Perhaps the visit of the Italian naval vessels, and that of Baron Giacomo Acerbo, the Italian Minister of Agriculture in the month of May, have somewhat revived the somnolent interest of France. Local opinion ascribes the stimulant to a determination on the part of M. Herriot to see France well seated again in the continental saddle, and not desperately clinging to the pommel while a miscreant Italy stands by and releases wasps to sting an already exasperated mount.

Respectfully yours,

For the Minister:

Maynard B. Barnes

Maynard B. Barnes,
Secretary of Legation.

4 Carbon Copies
Prepared JM
1 copy in D.C.R.-L.E.B.

030

MBB:MC

Copy sent to E.I.C.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

774.00/58

SEE 874.515/39 FOR #770

FROM Sheffield (Grace) DATED Jan.18, 1933

TO NAME

1—1127 ORO

REGARDING: Bulgarian engraving plates which may be for "War Paper".

Statement of a manufacturer of steel plates for engraving that he had furnished -.

Wi

770.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

Sheffield, England, January 18, 1935.

BULGARIA ORDERS STEEL ENGRAVING PLATES, WHICH MAY INDICATE PREPARATION FOR WAR.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SIR:

I have the honor to state that for a number of years while living in Sheffield I have had a very close acquaintanceship with a manufacturer of steel plates for engraving. This manufacturer supplies the principal nations of the world with these plates, as well as the companies making bank notes, etcetera. Generally, he is able to judge from the type of plate ordered, the purpose for which the securities to be engraved are intended.

A few days ago he told me that he is furnishing plates for Bulgaria, and that the order was an urgent one. He believes that Bulgaria is getting ready to issue "War Paper."

On account of the close relationship between Italy and Bulgaria, and Italy's mood in respect to certain countries bordering on the Adriatic, this information may be of use to the Department.

Respectfully yours,

William J. Grace,
American Consul.

File No. 866.12 - 711.
WJG:HM.

A true copy of the signed original.

Copies to Rome Geneva London & Paris 4-3-1 WE JCG/EB

Copy sent to Sofia 3/30/33

April 10 1933

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE UNDER SECRETARY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECEIVED APR 12 1933 DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

NE WE

March 29, 1933.

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

774.00/59

Memorandum of conversation with the Bulgarian Minister, March 29th.

The Bulgarian Minister came to see me today to communicate, under instructions, the attitude of his Government with respect to the Bulgarian position in the general European situation. He wished to make it clear that Bulgaria stood completely outside and independent of any combinations of European countries; Bulgaria, he said, had learned by bitter experience the unwisdom of linking its fate with any bloc. In 1925, when Greece invaded Bulgaria, the League took charge of the situation with the result that Greece withdrew from the occupied territory; the Bulgarians, therefore, had come to regard the League as an effective and stabilizing influence and were disposed to rest upon the authority of the League rather than upon European alliances. All the press reports, therefore, coming from Europe now, indicating that Italy and Bulgaria are reaching some common accord are without foundation; Bulgaria's Foreign Minister had explained Bulgaria's position to Mussolini and Mussolini had agreed that if he were in Bulgaria's

position

APR 14 1933

position he would adopt the same attitude of neutrality. Furthermore, Mussolini had said that he would never approach Bulgaria with a view to a possible alliance.

I asked the Minister for an expression of his opinion regarding the European situation and the Mussolini proposal. He believes that the danger point in Europe is not Poland, but the relations of Italy and Yugoslavia. In the latter two countries, he said, there were dictators, each being obliged to surround himself with popular favor, that the situation in Yugoslavia, particularly, was difficult on account of the divergence of opinion between the three different parts of Yugoslavia; an external war would simplify and consolidate this domestic situation. Moreover, he said, the people of Yugoslavia had very little practical sense, they were idealists and could be easily swept off their feet against all reason; an unfortunate incident along the Yugoslav border would, even now, be the match to a bon fire.

As far as Polish-German relations were concerned, he felt that France would be a stabilizing influence. Moreover, the Poles realize the danger of entering a conflict with Germany, whereas the Yugoslavs were quite confident of their parity in arms with Italy; he thought that the

Mussolini

Mussolini-MacDonald four power plan had good points since it was necessary for the four great powers to pull together; and the latter Entente on the other hand, the position of Yugoslavia must not be ignored.

740.0011 Peace Pact

William Phillips.

U WP/AB

No. 117

CONFIDENTIAL. FOR STAFF USE ONLY.

The Honorable

Henry Wharton Shoemaker,

American Minister,

Sofia.

Sir:

There is enclosed, for your confidential information, a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which the Under Secretary had on March 29th with the Bulgarian Minister concerning the European political situation in general and regarding Bulgaria's position in particular.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

William Phillips

1 enclosure:

Copy of memorandum of March 29th.

U VC/AB

Mar 31 1933.

A true copy of the signed orig.

774.00/59

April 10 1933

No. 470

CONFIDENTIAL - FOR STAFF USE ONLY.

Ray Atherton, Esquire,

American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,

London.

Sir:

There is enclosed, for your confidential information, a copy of a memorandum of the conversation which the Under Secretary had on March 29, 1933, with the Bulgarian Minister, concerning the European political situation in general and regarding Bulgaria's position in particular.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

William Phillips

Enclosure:
Memorandum of conversation,
March 29, 1933.

WE:MCG:EFB
4/1/33

NE

Apr. 6, 1933

CR

A true copy of the signed original.

774.00/59

No. 1630

CONFIDENTIAL - FOR STAFF USE ONLY.

J. Theodore Marriner, Esquire,

American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,

Paris.

Sir:

There is enclosed, for your confidential information, a copy of a memorandum of the conversation which the Under Secretary had on March 29, 1933, with the Bulgarian Minister, concerning the European political situation in general and regarding Bulgaria's position in particular.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

William Phillips

Enclosure:
Memorandum of conversation,
March 29, 1933.

Apr. 6, CR

WE:JCG:EFB
4/1/33

NE

A true copy of the signed original

774.00/59

No.

CONFIDENTIAL - FOR STAFF USE ONLY.

774.00/59

The Honorable

Norman H. Davis,

Chairman, American Delegation,

General Disarmament Conference,

Geneva, Switzerland.

Sir:

There is enclosed, for your confidential information, a copy of a memorandum of the conversation which the Under Secretary had on March 29, 1933, with the Bulgarian Minister, concerning the European political situation in general and regarding Bulgaria's position in particular.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

William Phillips

Enclosure:
Memorandum of conversation,
March 29, 1933.

WE:JCG:EFB
4/1/33

NE

Apr. 10, 1933 PM

April 10, 1933

No. 894

CONFIDENTIAL - FOR STAFF USE ONLY.

774.00/59

The Honorable

John W. Garrett,

American Ambassador,

Rome.

Sir:

There is enclosed, for your confidential information, a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which the Under Secretary had on March 29 with the Bulgarian Minister, concerning the European political situation in general and regarding Bulgaria's position in particular.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

William Phillips

Enclosure:
Memorandum of conversation,
March 29, 1933.

WE:JCG:EFB
4/1/33

NE

CR
Apr. 6, 1933
Apr. 10, 1933 PM

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, March 31, 1933.

No.633 STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

Subject: BULGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
APR 27 1933
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

APR 1933
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

copy to M I D

MAY 1 - 1933

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Office of Economic Adviser
APR 28 1933
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
APR 28 1933
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

774.00/60

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that in a recent conversation with a member of my staff Mr. Mooshanoff stated that Bulgarian opinion, both official and general, looks upon the MacDonald disarmament proposal and the Mussolini plan for collaboration between England, France, Germany and Italy for peace as the first concrete steps toward the revision of the peace treaties and therefore acclaims these developments as offering at least a slight hope of better days to come. Despite this favorable reaction the Bulgarian press and the leaders of the country have had surprisingly little to say about a disarmament proposal that would increase the

Bulgarian

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NE 4-27-33

Bulgarian Army from 20,000 to 60,000 and about the creation of a directorate of the Powers which by its very nature would act as a check on French determination, and on that of the Little Entente, to preserve the international order laid down at the Paris Peace Conference. Mr. Mooshanoff explained this comparative silence by stating that Bulgaria is well aware that on the major international problems of the day its word carries little or no weight in the councils of the great and that it is therefore far better for Bulgaria to remain silent and feed on the crumbs that fall its way in the natural course of events than to excite the hostility of its neighbors by speaking out in meeting. In other words, desiring peace above all else, and not disposing of the power necessary to influence the course of international events, it behooves Bulgaria to follow a neutral and colorless foreign policy, hoping that time and a sense of justice on the part of the Great Powers will ultimately rectify the wrong that Bulgaria itself has not the power to right.

Mr. Mooshanoff, who has only recently returned from Paris where he was negotiating with the Bulgarian bond-holders, and where he had an opportunity to judge for himself of the temper of French opinion, was by no means optimistic of ultimate acceptance by Europe of the MacDonald disarmament proposal and of the Mussolini plan. In his opinion the present economic plight of the world is the direct result of the existing international political situation on the Continent; that is, of the fact that nearly fifteen years after the Armistice the nations of Europe are still divided into the defeated and the

victorious.

victorious. He holds that no positive results can be expected from the forthcoming economic conference unless it is preceded by political assuagement. It is for this reason that success at Geneva, in the opinion of the Prime Minister, is of vital importance to the future of Europe.

Similar opinions have also been expressed in the Bulgarian press, which on the whole is pessimistic of ultimate success for the MacDonald and Mussolini proposals. MIR, perhaps the most influential Bulgarian newspaper, expresses the opinion that France will never consent to a reduction of its armed forces and that it will doubtless utilize the Little Entente to oppose the MacDonald proposal if to do so itself would prove awkward. This journal surmises that France will also use the Little Entente in voicing its opposition to the Mussolini plan. Only ZNAME, of the more important journals, expresses a note of optimism. According to this newspaper, which being the organ of the Democratic party must perhaps be more thoughtful of French susceptibilities than other Bulgarian journals, success is not impossible if serious guarantees for the security of the eastern frontier of France are given. But ZNAME does not attempt to define the guarantees, although it does observe that England and America are in a position to provide them, but are unwilling to sign a blank check on the future. LA BULGARIE, the semi-official organ of the Foreign Office, points out that those who oppose the Mussolini plan on the ground that a four-power dictatorship is undesirable are inconsistent as it is the very four powers concerned that play a dominant rôle on the Council of the League. As the League has shown itself to be

impotent

impotent with reference to Europe's major political problems, it is unsound to object to the erection, within the frame work of the League, of an additional prop to peace, argues LA BULGARIE, especially as the critics of the Mussolini plan energetically profess fidelity to the League and to the principles for which it stands. With reference to the MacDonald proposal, LA BULGARIE expresses the opinion that if it does not lead to an agreement at Geneva, one must despair for a long time of European salvation.

But to return to the conversation between Mr. Mooshanoff and a member of my staff. The Prime Minister was quite willing to discuss the charge frequently made that Bulgaria has sold its birthright for a mess of Italian potage. He expressed the opinion that anyone versed in the history of Bulgarian foreign policy must of necessity hesitate to take this charge seriously in the absence of fairly convincing evidence. His implication was that states, as well as individuals, learn by experience that it is dangerous to play with fire, and in view of the country's disastrous experiences of the past in the matter of alliances that post-war Bulgaria has constantly followed a policy of peace and of dependence on the benevolence of the League of Nations and of France and England. In the opinion of the Legation such is in reality Bulgaria's foreign policy, despite the efforts which have undoubtedly been made by Italy to draw Bulgaria into its orbit. This does not mean that Bulgaria shall not be friendly to Italy and to Germany, the latter of which states is Bulgaria's best

commercial

commercial customer, and be prepared to accept Italian and German help should dependence on the League and on France and England fail to offer an adequate guarantee against invasion from Yugoslavia. As for the Macedonian question, Bulgaria will no doubt continue to agitate, as in the past, for the treaty rights of the minorities, but no serious leader in Bulgarian political life fails to realize that the Macedonian problem will be settled in Western and not Southeastern Europe and that until pressure has been released by a Franco-German understanding, fundamental improvement in the relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia is out of the question.

In conclusion it should be reported that Kosta Todoroff, Bulgarian Minister at Belgrade during the Stamboulisky régime and one of the emigrant leaders who returned to Bulgaria on March 5, continues to have so much to say in public about the dangers of the alleged pro-Italian foreign policy of present day Bulgaria, and of the benefits that would accrue to Bulgaria from a pro-French orientation, that Mr. Mooshanoff took occasion a few days ago to inform representatives of the press that the time has long since passed when it was possible for protagonists of submission in foreign affairs to the leadership of this or that great power to divide the country into opposing camps. He urged that the public turn a deaf ear to Todoroff and his friends, who are only trying to stir up trouble, and stated that the Government of the National Bloc will not tolerate a return to old rivalries based on foreign policy. Todoroff cites in support of his charge that Bulgaria has become subservient to Italy the marked pro-Italian sentiments of much of the Bulgarian press and

remarks

remarks that it would be naive in the extreme to believe that the numerous propaganda activities in Bulgaria of the Italians are inspired by purely altruistic motives. Be this as it may, and it goes without saying that Italy has long been making strenuous efforts to bind Bulgaria to the Italian star of destiny, the Legation continues to believe, as reported above, that Bulgaria has not yet succumbed to Italian blandishments. Mr. Todoroff and his friends are by no means the only Bulgarians who realize that Italy is either as mighty as the Italians claim, and therefore capable of ultimately extending a satellite Albania to the Vardar valley at the expense of Bulgarian aspirations or so weak as to make success improbable in any enterprise on the part of Italy calculated to improve Bulgaria's international position.

Respectfully yours,

Henry W. Shoemaker,
Henry W. Shoemaker.

MBB:MC

Copies sent to Paris (3)

Received F.P.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, May 13, 1933

No.658 Confidential - for staff use only.

Subject: BULGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY.

MAY 31 33

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 12 1933
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

774.00/61

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774.00

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

File

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 1 1933
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Sir:

In view of the rumor in circulation early this month to the effect that Baron Aloisi was making a determined effort at Geneva to attach Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria to Italian leading strings, I desire to bring to the Department's attention the enclosed excerpts of an article quoting Mr. Mooshanoff on Bulgarian foreign policy, which article, according to LA BULGARIE of May 12, appeared in the May 7th edition of LE PARIS MIDI. There is also enclosed an excerpt of an article on Bulgarian foreign policy which appeared in LA BULGARIE of May 10 in the form of a reproduction of an article from the DOUNAUEUROPA of Vienna (date unknown) quoting an interview with the Bulgarian Prime Minister.

Although

FILED
JUN 13 1933

Although the Legation cannot vouch for the accuracy of these reported statements of the Prime Minister, there have been no recent developments with respect to Bulgaria's position in the general European situation known to the Legation which cause it to revise any of the opinions expressed by it in despatch No.633 of March 31, 1933, or to discredit the exposition of Bulgarian foreign policy made by the Bulgarian Minister at Washington to the Under Secretary of State on March 29, 1933, a record of which was transmitted with the Department's confidential Instruction No.117 of April 10, 1933.

Respectfully yours,

Henry W. Shoemaker.

4 Carbon Copies
Received

710

MBB:MC
Enclosures: As stated.
Copies sent to E.I.C. (3)

Accompaniment No.1 to
despatch No.658 of May 13, 1933.
American Legation, Sofia.

SOURCE: LE PARIS MIDI, May 7, 1933, as reproduced in LA BULGARIE of May 12, 1933.

TRANSLATION OF EXCERPTS

The foreign policy of Bulgaria has not changed and will not. Its only aim is to work for peace in the Balkans and to safeguard the liberty and independence of our country. Bulgaria is on good terms with all of the Great Powers and rigorously abstains from tying itself to any group of states.... I was astonished to read in a speech of Mr. Benes the statement that "up to a certain point" Bulgaria is a party to the German-Hungarian-Italian group. M. Benes, who knows the situation in the Balkans well and who, I hope, is sufficiently and accurately informed by his representative in Bulgaria on the policy of the Bulgarian Government, should know that Bulgaria is not a party to any group of powers. I am at a loss to know on what information or facts the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs bases his statement. Bulgaria has no other desire than to be an element of order and to collaborate with all states for a durable and just peace.

Mr. Mooshanoff denied reports in the French press to the effect that there are elements in the Government of the National Bloc hostile to France and on the subject of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations is reported to have said that the only question which separates the two states is that of the Bulgarian minority in Macedonia. "If the Government of Belgrade were to recognize this minority and guarantee it the rights possessed by other ethnic minorities our differences with Yugoslavia would disappear".

Accompaniment No.2 to
despatch No.658 of May 13, 1933.
American Legation, Sofia.

SOURCE: DOUNAUEUROPA of Vienna (date unknown) as reproduced in LA BULGARIE of May 10, 1933.

TRANSLATION OF EXCERPT

Mr. Mooshanoff said that insofar as the new organization of the Little Entente is concerned, public opinion in Bulgaria has taken no position for or against it. Bulgaria desires to remain outside all combinations and I am happy that the western press has not mixed up the name of Bulgaria in the rumors which circulate on the subject of the alliance of the Little Entente. The post-war policy of Bulgaria has only one aim, to prove the desire for peace which animates the Bulgarian people. We desire particularly to develope our economic relations with the Danubian states. It is for this reason that we seek the construction of a bridge over the Danube linking Bulgaria and Rumania.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, May 22, 1933.

No.664

Subject: INCIDENTS TENDING TO KEEP BULGARIA AND ITS NEIGHBORS APART

PM RECD JUN 14 33

FOR DISTRIBUTION

Copy To M.I.D

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 27 1933
M
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

JUN 28 1933

774.00/62

JUL 3 1933

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

Whenever efforts, either official or otherwise, to improve relations between Bulgaria and one of its neighbors are underway it is well to be prepared for reports of actual or of alleged incidents of a counter-acting nature. In explanation of this state of affairs Bulgaria usually contends that the reports have no bases in fact and are maliciously disseminated by the neighbor in question to discredit Bulgaria, thus revealing that the efforts toward improvement have been sincere on its part only. On the other hand it is usual for the neighbor in question to point out once again that Bulgaria is not master in its own house and that it is

futile

futile to attempt an understanding with a state which is dominated by revolutionary organizations and other irresponsible elements.

To illustrate the point it may be recorded that the Yugoslav prelates, who recently visited Bulgaria for the purpose of bringing about a friendly feeling between Serbs and Bulgars through the medium of the churches, had been back in Belgrade only several days when press reports from that city reached Sofia to the effect that Gavril Ivanoff and Guigo Guigoff, two suspects, of alleged Bulgarian nationality, had been taken into custody at Belgrade, and that a subsequent search of their domicile had produced four bombs and numerous other instruments of destruction. According to the reports from the Belgrade press Ivanoff and Guigoff had been sent to Belgrade from Sofia by the president of the organization of the emigrants from the Western Confines to perpetrate outrages in the Yugoslav capital under the direction of one Luibomir Stankoff, described as the revolutionary who placed the bomb in the Belgrade Military Club last year. The reports added numerous other details, one being to the effect that certain bombs and hand grenades traced to Ivanoff and Guigoff were stamped with the initials of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization. The Bulgarian Telegraphic Agency has announced that Gavril Ivanoff and Guigo Guigoff have never been in Sofia, and has implied that the report has been fabricated out of whole cloth in Belgrade. The semi-official press of the two states are now hurling vituperation at each other in connection with this alleged incident.

Another

Another example of the phenomenon noted in the first paragraph of this despatch is the alleged incursion of Greek territory in the vicinity of Kilindir by a band of fifteen Bulgarian Comitadjis on May 8. In connection with this alleged incident it should be noted that during the past month the Bulgarian and the Greek Governments have been seeking to prepare the ground for a settlement of their differences. According to reports from Greek sources the malefactors fled to Bulgarian territory when attacked by a detachment of Greek gendarmes, and in their haste abandoned Bulgarian military arms on Greek territory. Sofia has made its usual reply that the Bulgarian frontier guards noted no unusual occurrences along the Greek border on May 8, but the fact that the Greek Minister has taken the matter up officially with the Bulgarian Government would seem to indicate that something actually happened.

Likewise, as Bulgaria and Rumania have been getting on very well of late, the news of an incident on the Bulgaro-Dobrudjian frontier does not come as a surprise. According to information from Bulgarian sources a Bulgarian subject, long resident in Dobritch, sought on May 16 to slip across the frontier into Bulgaria. He was seen by Rumanian frontier guards and shot down by them, after pursuit, when nine hundred meters inside the Bulgarian line. It appears from the Bulgarian version that a Bulgarian officer happened along at the right moment to place one of the pursuing Rumanian guards under arrest while well within the Bulgarian frontier. The local press reports that the border authorities have not been

been able to liquidate this incident and that instructions have been sent to the Bulgarian Minister at Bucharest to intervene with the Rumanian Government with a view to an equitable settlement of the case.

In so far as Turkey is concerned, the Department has already received information on the Razgrade incident. Happily, this incident has been speedily liquidated.

To complete the picture, although Bulgaria and Albania are not actually neighbors, it should be reported that public opinion in Bulgaria has been aroused by the arrival of Bulgarian refugees from the village of Goritza. These refugees allege mistreatment at the hands of the Albanians. The Albanian version is that these Bulgarian villagers, who cultivated on a share basis land owned by Albanians, refused to hand over to their landlord his share of the crops and that the Albanian Government, motivated by a friendly feeling for all Bulgars, sought to effect a compromise settlement. Albania claims that when the villagers refused to compromise the Government even went so far as to offer to settle the Bulgarians on state-owned land but that being a stubborn people the villagers preferred to depart for Bulgaria.

No one of the foregoing incidents is of a really serious nature. Still they all serve to keep public opinion here and elsewhere stirred up to the detriment of Bulgaria's relations with its neighbors.

Respectfully yours,

Henry W. Shoemaker,
Henry W. Shoemaker.

710
HBB:MC
Copies to E.I.C. (3)

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

774.00 /63

SEE 768.74/313 FOR #680

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED June 10, 1933

TO NAME

1—1127 ...

REGARDING:

Bulgarian foreign policy.

Discussion of - in the Sobranje. Rumored alliance between Greece and Bulgaria. Bulgaro-Turkish relations. Statement of the Prime Minister concerning revision of the peace treaties.

Wi

Sofia, Bulgaria, June 10, 1933.

No. 680

Subject: QUESTIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY HOLD CENTER OF STAGE.

CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that during the past two weeks questions of foreign policy have held the center of the stage in Bulgaria.

As reported in the Legation's despatch No. 672, of May 30, 1933, several meetings of the Foreign Relations Commission of the Sobranje were held at the end of last month. It is now understood on good authority that the Prime Minister, who is also Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed that body that outwardly the relations between Bulgaria and its neighbors are friendly but that old differences remain to be settled. He is reported to have said

that

that Greece is offering to liquidate the litigious questions outstanding between the two states, but that it insists on compensation between its obligations under the Kafandaris-Molloff agreement and reparations. Such a settlement, explained Mr. Moushanoff, would cost the Bulgarian Government a billion leva. He is said to have stated that he sees no prospect of a change in point of view on the part of the Greek Government, but that the negotiations between the two Governments will be continued. In this connection it may be added that Mr. Neicoff, the Bulgarian Minister at Athens, was called to Sofia for consultation at the end of last month.

The Legation has also learned that Mr. Moushanoff emphatically denied before the Foreign Relations Commission that Turkey is seeking to bring about an alliance between it, Bulgaria and Greece, to counterbalance the Little Entente. He is understood to have explained, however, that Bulgaro-Turkish relations have not suffered from the Razgrade incident, that Turkey is desirous of clearing the way for collaboration between all Balkan states, and that it has therefore sought to help in the realization of a settlement between Bulgaria and Greece.

At the time this statement was made, Bulgarian opinion was somewhat put out with Turkey, due to the fact that the latter had favored at the Disarmament Conference, the project of the Committee on Security reported by

Mr. Politis,

Mr. Politis, which would count as an aggressor any state from which armed bands invaded the territory of another and which, upon the request of the attacked state, did not take all measures in its power to deprive the bands of assistance and protection. It is thought to have been this current of resentment which caused the absence of Mr. Mooshanoff from the Sofia station several days later when Tewfik Ruchdi Bey passed through the Bulgarian capital on his way home from Geneva.

But to get on with the story of Mr. Mooshanoff's statement before the Foreign Relations Commission. He is reported to have made it clear that he favors private initiative calculated to improve relations between Bulgars and Serbs, such as the recent visit of the Serbian prelates, but that he does not look for any betterment in the relations between the two states until Belgrade takes the initiative and recognizes the Bulgarian element in Macedonia. It is understood that the Prime Minister indicated that progress is being made on the minorities question with Rumania by revealing that the Rumania Minister at Sofia had informed the Bulgarian Government some time ago that his government will permit Bulgarian language teachers in eighty places in the Dobrudja if Bulgaria will consent to Rumanian language teachers in the Vidin district.

Subsequently, during the debate in the Sobranje on the budget for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Prime Minister dwelt on disarmament, revision and the

minorities

minorities clauses of the peace treaties. He said that although the treaties were unjust, they contain provisions, which if applied, can guarantee peace. Of these provisions he mentioned first the minorities clauses, and expressed the opinion that their non-execution has proved a boomerang; it is the non-execution of these clauses, according to the Prime Minister, that is largely responsible for the strength of the revisionist movement. Next in order, he dwelt on the disarmament provisions of the treaties, and then on Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The very fact that these "safety valves" were fashioned by the authors of the peace treaties, argued Mr. Mooshanoff, reveals that those who drafted the peace terms did not consider that they had performed a sacred and eternal work. In support of his contention that revision is desirable, he cited the claim that two of the Great Powers who participated in the elaboration of the treaties, Great Britain and Italy, now believe that to maintain the dogma of infallibility, in the face of modified conditions, is to court danger even more serious than that of revision itself. He added that in all these questions Bulgarian policy remains within the framework of the treaties. During his remarks on the floor of the Sobranje the Prime Minister reiterated his conviction that until Bulgaria's neighbors recognize the Bulgarian minorities within their borders there can be no real improvement in the relations between those states and Bulgaria.

On June 6th,

On June 6th there was held in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a meeting of all former Prime Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, together with the chiefs of those political parties which have not yet given such high officials to Bulgaria. So far as the Legation has been able to learn this meeting was devoted entirely to questions of Bulgarian policy at the Economic Conference.

On the following day Tewfik Ruchdi Bey passed through Bulgaria on his way to the Economic Conference, and the local diplomatic corps has not yet ceased talking and speculating about the events of that day. It had been known for some time prior thereto that Bulgaria's chief delegate to the Conference, Mr. Malinoff, would travel to London by the same train which would carry the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and this had sufficed to set tongues wagging. But on June 7th, local political observers were amazed to learn that at a railway station near Kritchim, in the vicinity of which King Boris maintains a country place, the express carrying the Turkish statesman was stopped so that the King might board the train and accompany Tewfik Ruchdi Bey as far as Tartar Pazardjik, a distance of some twenty-five or thirty kilometres. At Sofia, the train was boarded not only by Mr. Malinoff on his way to London, but by Mr. Moushanoff also, who travelled as far as the Bulgarian border with the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. No doubt these unusual marks of favor bestowed on Tewfik Ruchdi Bey were intended as amends for the absence of Mr. Moushanoff

from

from the Sofia station when Tewfik Ruchdi Bey passed through Bulgaria ten days earlier on his way home from Geneva, but why, ask many members of the local diplomatic corps, and especially the French and the Yugoslav Ministers, was it necessary for the Bulgarian Chief of State and the head of the Government to be so fulsome in their flattery if Turkey and Bulgaria are not cooking up a witch's brew at the very moment when a serious effort is being made to lessen the international tension?

In the opinion of the Legation the explanation of this somewhat extraordinary attention paid to the garrulous Turkish statesman is to be found in the statement made by Mr. Mooshanoff to the Foreign Relations Commission of the Sobranje to the effect that Turkey is desirous of clearing the way for collaboration between all Balkan states, and that it has therefore sought to help in the realization of a settlement between Bulgaria and Greece. As seen by the Legation, there does not appear to be anything sinister in Turkey's desire to bring about better relations between Bulgaria and Greece. From this vantage point it would appear that Turkey seeks to clear the path for Balkan collaboration in the hope of thereby freeing the peninsula, and liberating itself, from the conflicting influences of the Great Powers. In other words, Turkey seeks to canalize the now diffused forces of the movement of "the Balkans for the Balkan peoples", hoping thereby to assure for itself the condition necessary to its own political and economical development along western lines, which condition is peace. The initial step was rapprochement

with

with Greece. The next, so it is believed the Turks hope, will be a settlement between Bulgaria and Greece. As Tewfik Ruchdi Bey is reported to have explained to a leading Bulgarian journalist recently, it should be easier to regulate the Balkan problem by proceeding from South to North. Once Bulgaria and Greece are friends, so Tewfik Ruchdi Bey is reported to have explained, it will be easier to settle the questions in suspense between Bulgaria and Rumania, and then those between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

The Bulgarian Minister at Ankara has returned to Sofia within recent days, and according to him also, Ankara is not seeking to set up a counter-weight to the Little Entente. As he explains matters, Turkey is anxious to explore the ground for Balkan understanding, hoping thereby to end once and for all the subservience of the Balkans, including Turkey, to the conflict of interests between the Great Powers in this part of the world.

Respectfully yours,

Henry W. Shoemaker.

2 copies to E.I.C.
1 copy to the Embassy at Ankara.

710.
MBB:FM

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

774.00/64

SEE 761.0012(Aggressor)/10 FOR despatch #709

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED July 18, 1933.
TO NAME

1—1127 o.f.o.

REGARDING:

Effect of the AGGRESSION PACT negotiated by Russia with her neighboring states on the Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria.

b

o

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, August 5, 1933.

No.720

SUBJECT: IMPENDING VISIT OF ISMET PASHA AND M. TITULESCO.

AM RECD
DEPT. OF STATE DIV. COM. & REC.
AUG 1933

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK Yes No
To the Field
In U. S. A.

774.00/65

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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AUG 21 1933
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that when interviewed several days ago by a representative of the local newspaper ZORA, Mr. Mooshanoff stated, according to ZORA'S account of the interview, that the visit to Sofia of Ismet Pasha is definitely fixed for the second half of the month of September, between the 21st and the 25th, and that the Turkish Prime Minister will be accompanied by Tewfik Ruchdi Bey. ZORA also reports that Mr. Mooshanoff stated that he had recently let the Rumanian Minister to Bulgaria know that "it would be particularly agreeable to him to see Mr. Titulesco in Sofia".

Since

FILED
SEP 11 1933

Since the first intimations of nearly a month ago that Ismet Pasha and M. Titulesco might visit Sofia this autumn in the interest of a Balkan Locarno, local opinion has indulged in much speculation as to the exact nature of the proposals which the visiting statesmen may make. Since the interview published in ZORA this speculation has greatly increased, but as yet there is no more definite information available on the subject than that reported in the Legation's despatch No.709, of July 18, 1933. The general belief here is that Ismet's intention to visit Sofia is based largely on the desire of Turkey for peace in the Eastern Mediterranean, and that M. Titulesco seeks to evolve a formula which would defer for a further period of ten or fifteen years the problem of the revision of the Treaty of Neuilly. But as it seems unlikely that events are about to occur in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia which would put an end to the impasse which exists between these two states on the minorities question, the Legation is of the opinion that the proposed visits will accomplish little more than to prepare the way for improved relations between Bulgaria and Turkey, Bulgaria and Rumania, and perhaps Bulgaria and Greece. In other words, the Legation continues to believe that improved relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia can come only as a relatively slow development growing out of Franco-Italian understanding.

761.0012 Agg...../10

During the past ten days rumors have circulated to the effect that Mr. Mooshanoff is to visit Athens in the near future, and the local press has quoted the Prime

Minister

Minister as having stated that there would be nothing surprising in such a visit as he is a great believer in personal contacts between the responsible political leaders of neighboring states. Press telegrams from Athens two days ago reported that the Greek Government had issued a categoric denial that Mr. Mooshanoff had been invited to Athens.

Since the Legation's despatch No.709, of July 18, was written there has been considerable abatement of local fears on the score of isolation, and it is now generally thought in Bulgaria that the underlying purpose of the Oriental Pact was to forge another link in the chain for the encirclement of Hitlerist Germany, and that Bulgaria entered the picture only as a side issue, if at all. The supposition that Mr. Titulesco will come to Sofia with the knowledge and approval of France has done much to counteract the fear of isolation. And this point has been given emphasis by the fact that M. Herriot is due to arrive in Sofia on August 11, for a visit of a week. He comes ostensibly to attend the Congress of the European Radical and Democratic Parties, but as his final destination is Russia and as he will reach Sofia by way of Turkey, it is taken for granted in well informed circles that his visit is for political purposes as well, and that while in Sofia he will canvass the problem of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations with the local political leaders. Should, by chance, M. Herriot visit Belgrade before proceeding to Russia there would seem to be sound reason for accepting the local opinion that his visit is indicative of a return on the part of France to an active policy in the Balkans.

Respectfully yours,

Maynard B. Barnes.

Maynard B. Barnes,
Charge d'Affaires ad interim.

710
MBB:MC

X

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 874.001 B 64/60 FOR #748

FROM Bulgaria (Barnes) DATED Sept.19, 1933

TO NAME

1—1127

774.00/66

REGARDING:

Belief that objective of the King's visit abroad was to dispel apprehensions in certain quarters where it has been feared that Bulgaria is about to forsake the policy of dependence on the League of Nations in favor of orientation toward some international political constellation.

Relations with France and Yugoslavia.

Wi

Sofia, Bulgaria, September 19, 1933.

No.748

SUBJECT: RETURN OF KING BORIS AND BULGARIAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

874.001 B64/60

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

774.00
751.74
760H74

I have the honor to inform the Department that King Boris and Queen Ioanna, after an absence of over two months abroad, returned to Sofia last evening. As reported in my despatch No.739 of September 5, 1933, the Bulgarian monarchs went from Paris to England. There they visited the British monarchs for several days at Balmoral where King Boris had an opportunity of meeting, and doubtless of exchanging views with Mr. Macdonald. Later in London, so the local press reported, King Boris was able to canvass the international situation, at least briefly, with the Permanent Undersecretary of

State

State for Foreign Affairs.

It is now the consensus of opinion in well informed circles here that the main objective of the King in his conversations abroad was to help Mr. Mooshanoff in the latter's efforts to dispel apprehensions in certain quarters where it has been feared that Bulgaria has or is about to forsake the policy of dependence on the League of Nations in favor of orientation toward some international political constellation. According to some this royal assistance had become desirable because Franco-Italian efforts toward understanding are not going well, and according to others, because of the apparent renewed interest of France in Bulgaro-Yugoslav understanding. Whatever the reasons, and despite the considerable domestic agitation of the past few months for reorientation in foreign policy, it is now generally thought, as indicated in my despatch No.748, of September 18, 1933, that the forthcoming visit of Ismet Pasha will not result in Bulgaria adhering to or signing any political agreement, such for example, as the recently signed pact between Greece and Turkey, but instead that Bulgaria will await the time when either Franco-Italian cooperation, or French assistance alone, can induce Yugoslavia to adopt a sufficiently reasonable attitude to permit of improved relations between Sofia and Belgrade.

On the whole Bulgarian opinion has been convinced by the visit of M. Herriot and by the reception given King Boris in France that French interest in the ultimate destiny of Bulgaria is reviving. There appears to be in

consequence

consequence a disinclination on the part of local opinion, and the Government also, to accept any agreement which has been blessed only by Signor Mussolini. In fact it is generally thought here that French intervention at Belgrade is already at work. This is seen in the presence at the Belgrade railway station yesterday of both King Alexander and Queen Marie to greet King Boris and Queen Ioanna on their way through to Sofia. Local opinion finds in the fact that a breakfast party was given at the station by King Alexander for the travelling Bulgarian royalty and that for the first time, at least in recent years, an intimate conversation was held between the monarchs of the two South-Slav states a definite indication that a new influence favorable to Bulgaria is actually at work in Belgrade. This meeting between the Bulgarian and Yugoslav kings has been received with manifest pleasure here, especially as it followed so closely on the heels of the signing of the Greco-Turkish pact which has aroused resentment and disappointment in Bulgaria.

Respectfully yours,

Maynard B. Barnes,
Charge d'Affaires ad interim.

710/800.1

MBB:MC

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 874.001 B 64/62 FOR #754

FROM Bulgaria (Barnes) DATED Sept.30, 1933

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING:

Comments on Bulgarian relations with France and Italy.

Possible that Bulgarian negotiations at Geneva concerning financial questions may be connected with political considerations.

774.00 /67

67

Wi

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, October 10, 1933

No.758

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY
NOV 8 - 1933
MR BULLITT

NOV 1 33

FOR DISTRIBUTION
Copy to MID
NOV 7 - 1933

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NOV 1 - 1933
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

774.00/68

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that according to the local press the JOURNAL DE GENEVE of October 4 contained the following statement on Bulgarian foreign policy by Mr. Mooshanoff:

> "Bulgaria's relations with Rumania and with Turkey are satisfactory. Rapprochement with Greece is developing, while from the Yugoslav side the prospects are very much better. A spirit of understanding and of reciprocal good will animate Sofia and Belgrade. The problem raised by the presence of an important Bulgarian element in Macedonia can and should go forward toward solution within the framework of the treaties, by the strict application of the convention protecting the minorities. It is this

that

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that Sofia asks today.

> "Bulgaria does not wish in any way to tie itself by entering into the Greco-Turkish combination or into the Little Entente. But it wishes to collaborate with its neighbors on political and economic projects. It follows a policy of peace."

In conversation with me last night on the subject of the recent meeting between King Boris and King Alexander and the visit of Ismet Pasha and Tewfik Rushdi Bey to Sofia Dr. George Radeff, Secretary General of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, confirmed the authenticity of the statement in the JOURNAL DE GENEVE, and added that further accurate elucidation of Bulgarian foreign policy was to be found in an editorial in the local newspaper, ZORA, of October 9.

1/ A full translation of this editorial is enclosed for the Department's information.

Respectfully yours,

Maynard B. Barnes,
Charge d'Affaires ad interim.

710
MBB:MC

Enclosure: Translation of article on
Bulgarian foreign policy.

Enclosure with despatch No.758
of October 10, 1933.

SOURCE: ZORA, No.4280,
October 9, 1933.

FULL TRANSLATION

Much criticism has been expressed regarding our foreign policy in connection with the pacts signed lately. The critics show a lack of clear conceptions with reference to questions of foreign policy; they have been deceived into believing that Bulgaria is being isolated, whereas in reality it is being sought and will continue to be sought by near and distant countries. The Bulgarian Government will naturally have to discuss when and on what conditions it could cooperate with other powers. If for the sake of her normal progress, of peace and of her interests Bulgaria decides to extend cooperation to any country and for that prupose joins or concludes a pact with one or more countries, this must not be interpreted as subjection of Bulgaria to the general policy of these countries. Understanding and cooperation with them would not mean that Bulgaria will owrk with them to the detriment of others. If for the sake of the above-mentioned interests Bulgaria concludes pacts with certain countries as it has with Turkey, such action would not exclude cooperation and pacts with others as well. Briefly, nobody should believe that Bulgaria is taking a new orientation in international affairs nor that its policy will abandon the line along which it has developed thus far and will develop in the future, namely friendship with neighboring and distant countries, loyal cultivation of good relations with them and firm but reasonable defense of its rights and interests. This is the standpoint of the Bulgarian Government and platonic wishes alone cannot modify it.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, October 14, 1933.

No.759

SUBJECT: STATEMENTS OF MR. MOOSHANOFF RELATING TO BULGARIAN FOREIGN RELATIONS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OCT 21 1933
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NOV 1 - 1933
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Office of Economic Advisor
JAN 10 1934

FILED
JAN 15 1934

774.00/69

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the fact reported in my despatch No.752, of September 28, 1933, that Mr Mooshanoff was compelled to leave for Geneva almost immediately after the visit to Bulgaria of Ismet Pasha and Tewfik Ruchdi Bey, and to inform the Department that from Geneva Mr. Mooshanoff proceeded to Paris, primarily for the purpose of reopening there, on the basis of new recommendations by the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, the negotiations with the pre-war bondholders. The new recommendations of the Financial Committee and the progress of the negotiations with the bondholders

will

will be dealt with in a separate despatch. In this despatch I desire to report on certain interesting statements relating to Bulgarian foreign relations made by Mr. Mooshanoff while abroad and on his return to Sofia on October 12 to meet Mr. Titulesco.

According to a HAVAS telegram from Paris dated October 11, Mr. Mooshanoff, interviewed in Paris by a representative of LE MATIN, stated that the cordial reception given him in the French capital and that which was extended earlier to King Boris, and the visit of M.Herriot to Bulgaria mark a considerable improvement in Franco-Bulgarian relations. It is also reported in the same telegram that Mr. Mooshanoff spoke of the good relations obtaining between Bulgaria and Turkey, of the happy lessening of tension in Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations and expressed the hope that soon the questions in suspense between Greece and Bulgaria will be settled. The telegram also quotes Mr. Mooshanoff as having said that Bulgaria wishes to stay outside all combinations; that he personally is an opponent of "pactomania"; that Bulgaria cannot adhere to so rigid a definition of aggression as that set forth in the Litvinoff pact and that a more flexible definition will doubtless be formulated at Geneva at which time Bulgaria will decide what attitude it should adopt on the question.

An AVALA telegram from Belgrade dated October 13 reported the Prime Minister as having said to a representative of POLITIKA, when passing through Nish the day of his arrival at Sofia, that he rejoiced sincerely over the meeting between King Boris and King Alexander, as in

his

his opinion this meeting should prove most profitable for Bulgarians and Yugoslavs. According to the AVALA telegram Mr. Mooshanoff added that it now remains for the governments of Sofia and Belgrade to come to terms to surmount the difficulties separating the two countries, "so that they may live as brothers". In reply to a question relating to the activity of the Little Entente touching economic collaboration in Central and South-eastern Europe, Mr. Mooshanoff is reported by the AVALA agency to have declared that all plans tending to alleviate the existing crisis are praiseworthy and that Bulgaria will adhere to them in the measure that these plans fit its needs. The AVALA telegram states that Mr. Mooshanoff emphasized that he had conversed with Mr. Benes at Geneva on this question and that he had renewed the assurance that Bulgaria is disposed to accept all propositions based on an equitable point of view tending to reciprocal facilities and advantages. Referring to his declaration to LE MATIN Mr. Mooshanoff is reported by the AVALA agency to have confirmed the spirit of his earlier statement by saying that at the present time it is necessary to choose between a policy of equilibrium and a policy based on the League of Nations. "Since we have the League of Nations", Mr. Mooshanoff is quoted as having said, "we do not have need for pacts and super-guarantees".

Upon reaching Sofia on the afternoon of October 12 Mr. Mooshanoff informed the local press as follows in connection with questions relating to foreign policy:

"At

"At Geneva I had interviews with many political leaders. With Mr. Benes I discussed for an hour and a half the political and economic problems which now present themselves in Central Europe and the Balkans. Another important interview for us has been that which I had with Mr. Tsaldaris, whom I met for the first time. We have agreed to proceed from words to acts. We have reached an understanding to establish a mixed commission which will elucidate the questions outstanding, establish the figures of the claims, and proceed to an exchange of views on commercial relations. Once the two Governments are clear as to that which interests them we can find a global settlement. We have promised ourselves to seek a solution of all questions in a spirit of reciprocal justice.

"I am extremely satisfied with the welcome extended to me by M. Daladier, the French Prime Minister, M. Paul-Boncour, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Bonnet, the French Minister of Finance, and M. Lamoureux, the French Minister of the Budget. I expressed to them in the name of the Bulgarian Government our profound thanks for the cordial reception given to the Bulgarian sovereigns and I have been particularly happy to hear the sincere and enthusiastic words of praise which they have for his Majesty the King and her Majesty the Queen, as well as their appreciation of the welcome which was given M. Herriot in Bulgaria.

"Each time I go abroad I return with the impression that Bulgaria is appreciated in foreign lands. I

can

can assure you that I always note an improvement in this respect. But I repeat once more, the future of Bulgaria is in its own hands. Work awaits us. We must improve the financial and economic situation and thereby re-establish confidence. Demagogy and party strife will not lead to this."

Respectfully yours,

Maynard B. Barnes,
Charge d'Affaires ad interim.

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MBB:MC

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, October 27, 1933.

No.770

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NOV 27 1933
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Copy to M.I.D.

CONFIDENTIAL

Office of Economic Adviser
NOV 28 1933
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NOV 15 1933
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that in conversation with me last night on the subject of Bulgarian foreign policy and the recent visits of Ismet Pasha and M. Titulesco to Sofia, and the meetings between King Boris and King Alexander, Mr. Mooshanoff said that Bulgaria is willing to seek to compose by direct negotiations its non-political differences with neighboring states; that the Government's aim is the maintenance of peace; but that it is definitely unwilling at this time to modify its general policy in international politics of dependence on the League of Nations and the Four Power pact. Asked if the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations does not change

774.00/79

change the situation for Bulgaria, he replied that he is of the opinion that England and the United States will do their utmost to persuade Germany to return to the Disarmament Conference and thereby to the League, but that if in the end the League and the Four Power pact prove to be minor factors in the European situation - a state of affairs which would force a return to the pre-war system of "equilibrium" - then Bulgaria will reexamine its policy with a view to finding its proper place in the new scheme of things.

This statement of the Prime Minister in connection with the recent visits to Sofia, with the visit now occurring of Messrs. Goemboes and Kanya, and with the scheduled meeting on the Danube on October 30 of King Boris and King Carol, seems to justify the opinion which I hold in common with many other foreign observers here that Bulgaria is willing to seek better relations with its neighbors by direct negotiations so long as it is not necessary for such efforts to be founded upon reaffirmation of the status quo so far as the Dobrudja, Thrace and Macedonia are concerned. But it is this very thing, i.e., reaffirmation of the status quo so far as those territories are concerned, that the visiting statesmen from Turkey and Rumania have insisted upon as a condition precedent to the economic advantages that should flow from improved relations between Bulgaria and its neighbors.

Ismet Pasha very definitely withheld any hope of territorial revision, and dwelt upon Bulgaria's need for peace and increased commerce with Greece and Turkey. Bulgaria is anxious for enlarged markets, but at the same time it does not believe that Turkey and Greece, for

financial

financial and other related reasons, will ever again absorb Bulgarian products in the amounts consumed prior to 1930. Nevertheless, Bulgaria is willing to make the effort implied in Mr. Mooshanoff's statement that he and M. Tsaldaris had agreed to the establishment of a mixed commission to liquidate the non-political questions outstanding between Bulgaria and Greece.

I have also learned on good authority that M. Titulesco explained to Mr. Mooshanoff that the Little Entente has nothing to offer in the way of territorial changes, that for the Little Entente the boundaries are fixed and that revision means war, but that at the same time the Little Entente is prepared to work for Bulgarian economic recovery as part of a general scheme for recovery throughout the Danube basin, but only on condition of improved relations between Rumania and Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Here again Bulgaria is willing to strive for the proposed alleviation as is indicated by the recent meetings between King Boris and King Alexander and the forthcoming meeting between King Boris and King Carol, but always on condition that it is not called upon to reaffirm the political and territorial status quo.

M. Titulesco has argued that Bulgaria would profit materially from a treaty of commerce with his country, as at present Bulgaria markets practically no products in Rumania, whereas Bulgaria must continue a good customer of Rumania for petroleum products, salt and timber no matter how unsatisfactory Rumania may prove as a market for Bulgarian tobacco and other products. So long as Bulgaria has no direct trade relations with Soviet Russia this

unfortunate

unfortunate state of affairs so far as Bulgaria is concerned will doubtless continue to obtain, but the growing sentiment in Bulgaria in favor of the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia may prove a trump up the sleeve of the Bulgarian representatives in future negotiations with Bucharest.

So far as Yugoslavia is concerned Bulgaria stands to gain but little from a treaty of commerce. The products of the two countries are not sufficiently dissimilar to help Bulgaria. However, Bulgaria does badly need a veterinary convention with Yugoslavia so as to be able to transport its animal and poultry products to Central European markets. In the absence of such a convention Yugoslavia can at will upset Bulgarian trade in one of its most important exports to Central Europe, and during the past two years Belgrade has not hesitated to use this lever. But it is childish to believe that Bulgarian opinion and especially emigrant opinion, would tolerate reaffirmation of the political and territorial status quo in exchange for a veterinary convention. After all the "Pig War" of the early years of this century between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Serbia was not able to obliterate Serbian aspirations.

It is believed that the foregoing reveals that there is but little solid ground, if any, upon which to base the hope of a Balkan Locarno in the near future in the absence of concessions on the part of Bulgaria's neighbors, such as minor territorial revisions to the west and to the northeast, and the recognition of minority rights in the neighboring states. And as recorded above, both Ismet

Pasha

Pasha and M. Titulesco appear to have withheld all hope, at least for the present, of such concessions. However, as exchanges of views continue in the effort to liquidate the non-political questions outstanding between Bulgaria and its neighbors more conciliatory views may take form in the states surrounding Bulgaria. At any rate, further conversations between Sofia and Bucharest are scheduled, and similar conversations between Sofia and Belgrade are rumored. At the same time recent outbursts of Bulgarian chauvinism on Macedonian territory, and also in the Dobrudja, fostered no doubt by foreign influences hostile to Balkan understanding, have not been viewed with such concern as in the past by Bulgaria's neighbors, which is interpreted locally with considerable satisfaction as an indication that at last Bulgaria's neighbors are beginning to realize that the good intentions of the Sofia Government are not to be measured by the activities of Bulgarian and emigrant revolutionaries. Under the circumstances it cannot therefore be said that there is no improvement in the situation as between Bulgaria and its neighbors. Whether there is to be a much greater improvement remains to be seen and depends largely upon the attitude adopted in neighboring capitals, either with or without persuasion from Paris and Rome. For the moment at least Bulgaria appears more conciliatory on the non-political questions outstanding between it and its neighbors than it has at any time since the war. At the same time it remains definitely but latently revisionist in its aspirations.

Respectfully yours,

Maynard B. Barnes,
Charge d'Affaires ad interim.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NOV 22 1933
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
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DEPARTMENT

G-2 Report

3850

YUGOSLAVIA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.
Yugoslavia-Bulgaria.

774.00/71

1. The recent efforts being made toward an accord between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and the entrance of Bulgaria into the Little Entente, outlined in my Report No. 3409, October 4, 1933 (3850), have brought forth much severe criticism from the ultra-nationalistic press of Bulgaria, aimed particularly at Yugoslavia.

2. In Bulgaria the Agrarian groups under the direction of MM. Mandjaraff and Pentcheff, called the Serbophiles, favoring the formation of a league of accord with Yugoslavia, have brought upon themselves severe reproach from the Macedonian and other revolutionary groups, with the antipathy toward Yugoslavia becoming more intense.

3. The Macedonian groups violently oppose any relations tending toward amity between the two countries. This was recently shown in their opposition to the visit to Yugoslavia of athletic groups, professors, engineers, doctors, commercial and clerical groups of Bulgars, saying that such conduct was shameful and declaring that those groups were without conscience to eat and drink at the same tables with the grave-diggers of Bulgaria and Macedonia.

4. As a counter measure the Macedonian Committee called at Doubnitza on October 8th a congress of young Macedonians, which 20,000 were expected to attend. These will be asked to swear to struggle to the last against the Serbs for the deliverance of Macedonia.

5. Still another group under the lead of the Agrarian deputy Dimitroff turn their aims toward the South, Greece. This group favor union with the Serbs and assert that Slavs could then take Thrace from Greece and place it in the hands of the right owner, Bulgaria.

6. It is these diverse but restless elements in Bulgaria that keep her from either an accord with the Little Entente or one with the Greco-Turks. In this she appears to have the encouragement of France, who does not wish the Little Entente to become too strong.

Source:
Press reports -
L'Eleftheron Vima, Greece.

7. Comment by M/A: It is doubted that Bulgaria will enter either the Little Entente or the Greco-Turkish entente, for the reasons that her present potential enemies are in either group the leading and strongest power; namely, Yugoslavia in the first and Turkey in the second.

OCT 1 1933

From: M/A Belgrade Report No. 3427 October 18, 1933
(page 1)

To obtain the first object (Bulgaria's adherence to the Little Entente) there must be forthcoming some quid pro quo from Serbia and for the accomplishment of the second some valuable concession in Bulgarian eyes, either assistance in a monetary grant or major trade concessions. The bulk of the proposed group of countries for the greater Little Entente are all agricultural; namely, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, with an identity of products; Czechoslovakia alone being both industrial and agricultural. The agricultural elements can under the circumstances make only minor concessions among themselves, and industrial Czechoslovakia will be unable to absorb sufficient agricultural products of the major group to speed up her industry without aid from countries outside the proposed greater Little Entente group, thus limiting the scope of a "Balkan bloc".

F. L. WHITLEY,
Lt. Colonel, Inf.,
Military Attache.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 874.032/56 FOR #788

FROM Bulgaria (Barnes) DATED Dec.5, 1933

TO NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING: Bulgarian foreign policy.

Encloses translation of Prime Minister's remarks on -, during the debate on the reply to the Speech from the Throne.

774.00/72

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Wi

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

774.00/73

740.0011 Mutual Guarantee(Balkan)/29

SEE ~~xxx.xx/xxx~~ FOR #834

FROM Bulgaria (Barnes) DATED Feb.15, 1934

TO NAME

1—1127 o.r.o.

REGARDING:

Bulgaria's immediate aims are conservation of its rights under the Covenant of the League and the Treaty of Neuilly and improvement of its relations with neighboring states, according to the Prime Minister.

Wi

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, March 24, 1934.

No.862

SUBJECT: MR. MOOSHANOFF BEFORE THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION.

DIVISION OF EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. MAY 2 - 1934 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE MAY 4 1934 DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

DEPT. OF STATE APR 19 1934 COMM. 8

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A-C/C APR 30 1934 ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

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MAY 1 - 1934

DEPARTMENT OF STATE APR 20 1934 DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

774.00/74

FILED MAY 5 - 1934

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Sobranje was held on March 20th to hear the Prime Minister on the subject of the budget for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. This meeting offered an opportunity to the representatives of the various groups in Parliament to question the Prime Minister on the last phase of the neogtiations leading to the signature of the Balkan Pact, and on subsequent events related to Bulgarian foreign policy.

According to the local press the Prime Minister was

asked

asked at this meeting whether the Government intends to proceed with its earlier proposal to conclude bilateral non-aggression pacts with neighboring states. Mr. Mooshanoff is reported to have replied that the Bulgarian Government maintains its offer of non-aggression pacts, but only for agreements similar in nature to the recently concluded pact between Poland and Germany. As it appears that Bulgaria's neighbors will insist upon an agreement embodying the London definition of aggression, there seems little likelihood that the Prime Minister's willingness to maintain Bulgaria's earlier offer will result in the signature of non-aggression pacts in the near future. It is understood that the Commission agreed unanimously that the London definition of aggression constitutes a danger to peace, that a pact for the security of frontiers should be of such a nature as not to constitute a menace to one of the signatory states, and that acceptance by Bulgaria of pacts containing the London definition of aggression might well give rise to a violation of Bulgarian frontiers.

The press reports that Mr. Mooshanoff explained that on his recent trip abroad the King availed himself of the opportunity to explain Bulgaria's non-adherence to the Balkan Pact in important quarters abroad, which explanations, so the Prime Minister is supposed to have said, were well received. Likewise, the Prime Minister is said to have explained that the King's visit to Berlin was a necessity in view of the visits made by him last summer, but that his conversations in Germany related exclusively to economic matters, and that the meeting between King

Boris

Boris and King Alexander, on the train in Yugoslavia, "was the logical consequence of the signature of the Balkan Pact and of the absence of Bulgaria from the pourparlers".

According to my understanding Mr.Mooshanoff also stated that the Government has taken measures against the irredentist organizations in Bulgaria, which seek to take matters of foreign policy into their own hands, and that relations with Yugoslavia remain as they were oriented at the end of the visit of King Boris to Belgrade last December. He is reported to have added that it is the hope of the Bulgarian Government that the Yugoslav Government will soon nominate the respective commissions to deal with the concrete questions mentioned in the official communication issued at the close of that visit, and that as for Rumania, he and the Rumanian Minister here are continuing their conversations looking to a solution of the church and school problems between the two states. On the question of relations with Greece, the press reports the Prime Minister as having stated that matters remain where they were left at the return of the Bulgarian Mixed Commission to Greece last December. Turkey's discontent with Bulgaria on the score that it is affording refuge to anti-Kemalist leaders was also dwelt upon by the Commission, and Mr. Mooshahoff categorically denied the charge of the Turkish press that Bulgaria is giving refuge to the enemies of the present regime in Turkey. He also denied the Turkish charge that the Moslem population of Bulgaria is being subjected to less favorable treatment than formerly. On the subject of the reestablishment of relations with Russia, the press quotes the Prime

Minister

Minister as having said that as yet this question is not a pressing one.

Respectfully yours,

Maynard B. Barnes,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

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MBB:MC

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 764.74/5 FOR desp. #104

FROM Hungary (Montgomery) DATED May 7, 1934

TO NAME 1—1127

REGARDING: During visit of Bulgarian Prime Minister to Budapest he made the statement that Bulgaria would not enter into any Balkan Pact such as had been signed by other Balkan States.

774.00/75

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DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 874.00/481 FOR #158

FROM Bulgarian Legation (.....) DATED May 21,1934

TO NAME

1—1127

REGARDING: Bulgarian policy of friendly relations with all powers and understanding with neighboring states.
Statement that the new Government will continue the former --

774.00/76

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DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 874.00/490 FOR #20

FROM Bulgaria (Sterling) DATED May 25,1934

TO NAME 1—1127 •r•

REGARDING: Bulgarian foreign policy.
Manifesto of May 19 states the new Government has two objectives in its -: peace with foreign powers and the resumption of relations with Soviet Russia.

774.00/77

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, June 11, 1934.

No. 24

SUBJECT: FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

TREATY DIVISION
JUL 17 1934
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of Economic Adviser
JUL 16 1934

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 27 34
DIV. COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 13 1934
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

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To the Field
In U. S. A.

Assistant Secretary of State
JUL 24 1934
MR. SAYRE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 28 1934
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY
JUL 24 1934
MR. HEWES

774.00/78

AM LEGO

774.00

Commercial Office (A-C/O)
To Belgrade
7/11/34
ejs

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that in the field of foreign affairs nothing of great interest has occurred during the past fortnight. The most important developments have been the conversations which were held at Geneva between the Foreign Ministers of Turkey, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia, regarding Bulgaria's offer to negotiate non-aggression pacts with the other Balkan powers; the conclusion of a commercial treaty and veterinary convention with Yugoslavia; the departure of a Bulgarian delegation to Rome to negotiate similar

FILED
JUL 25 1934

agreements

agreements with Italy; and the reported proposal of Turkey to fortify the Straits.

After the conference of the four Balkan ministers of foreign affairs in Geneva, Tewfik Rushdi Bey saw in Sofia on his way back to Ankara the new Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Batoloff, and informed him of the conversations which had taken place. He stated that the signatories of the Balkan Pact were willing to sign a multilateral pact of non-aggression. Furthermore while they insisted that the pact should define aggression the definition might be an attenuated form of the London definition.

This rather vague statement was all Tewfik Rushdi communicated regarding the exchange of views at Geneva. It cannot be considered as a formal reply to Mr. Mooshanoff's offer of a pact of non-aggression, as Mr. Mooshanoff had in mind and had offered a system of bilateral pacts, whereas Tewfik Rushdi speaks of a multilateral pact and this in terms so vague that it is not a concrete counter-proposal. Moreover, after his intrigues of last year, Tewfik Rushdi is not considered in Sofia as a fully reliable agent. The Government is waiting to hear from Belgrade after Mr. Yevtitch returns. A basis and a formula for a pact of non-aggression will continue to be sought, either bilateral or multilateral. I understand that Bulgaria is readyto give full evidence of her pacific intentions, but will not agree to incorporate the London definition of aggression. The Government thinks that now that Bulgaria has shown her sincerity and her good will by taking effective measure to put an end to Macedonian

illegal

illegal activities, to insist on the London definition and particularly on point five, would be an unnecessary humiliation and show a lack of confidence.

760H.742 Veterinary
760H.749
660H.7431

The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, which embodies the Veterinary Convention, and Clearing Agreement with Yugoslavia were approved on May 31, 1934, by the Council of Ministers, the announcement being received with general satisfaction. Copies of the documents will be forwarded to the Department when published.

The Bulgarian delegation, the principal member of which is Dr. Karajoff, Chief of the Consular Section of the Foreign Office, is leaving today for Rome to negotiate similar agreements with Italy. It will be recalled that during Mr. Mooshanoff's visit to Rome last April the Italian Government had welcomed the suggestion of closer commercial relations between the two countries, especially since Italy is, next to Germany, the largest importer of Bulgarian products; so that the negotiations are a logical outcome of the visit. Before joining the delegation at Rome, however, Dr. Karajoff is stopping over a few days at Budapest to engage in preliminary conversations regarding projected commercial agreements with Hungary.

665.7431

It was recently reported in the foreign press that Turkey was preparing to request leave of the signatory powers of the Treaty of Lausanne to fortify the Dardanelles. When inquiry was made of Mr. Chevki, the Turkish Minister to Bulgaria, he stated to the Legation that it was the intention of his Government to make such a request but only if and when the Allies relaxed the provisions of the peace treaties and permitted latitude as regards armament

867.20
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to

to the other Central Powers. A report from Geneva (Morning Post and the Neue Freie Presse) now announces that Turkey had deferred her intention of raising this question during the present session of the League Council. This decision has been taken after conversations between Sir John Simon and the Turkish, Greek and Bulgarian representatives at Geneva.

In a recent conversation with Mr. Batoloff, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Legation learned that the Government did not envisage any immediate steps towards the recognition of Soviet Russia. He stated that with recognition in view studies were being undertaken of the possibilities of a greater interchange of products between the two countries. Asked as to what commodities Russia could usefully supply to Bulgaria he mentioned oil as one of the most important, which suggested to the Legation that he had in mind an oil monopoly in Bulgaria, the establishment of monopolies being part of the new Government's program. Mr. Bataloff concluded by saying that their raison d'etre for recognition was based principally on Bulgaria's desire to be on friendly terms with all countries and particularly with her near neighbors.

661.01
661.7431

Respectfully yours,

F. A. Sterling.

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FAS:mc

Central File: Decimal File 774.00, Political Relations Of States, Relations; Bi-Lateral Treaties., Bulgaria And The World, April 29, 1930 - January 10, 1940. April 29, 1930 - January 10, 1940. MS Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States: Records of the U.S. Department of State, 1930-1944: Records of the Department of State Relating to Political Relations of Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States, 1930-1939. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com%2Fapps%2Fdoc%2FSC5111390565%2FGDSC%3Fu%3Domni%26sid%3Dbookmark-GDSC. Accessed 21 June 2025.